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VOL. VIII.—NO. 51.

NEW YORK, MARCH 19, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.



A STORM CENTER—BUT UNSHAKABLE.

WE WIN!

The S. T. & L. A. Scores Its First Triumph.

4,000 LED TO VICTORY.

Becked, and Known to be Becked, by a Growing Class-Conscious Party of the Working Class, the Irrepressible Economic Uprising of the Proletariat Can be Successful, and can be Turned into a Valuable Co-adjutor for Emancipation—Only When Becked, and Known to be Becked, by Ignorant and Corrupt Pure and Simple Fakirism are the Economic Uprisings of the Proletariat Disheartening Flash- es in the Pan.

Last Tuesday morning, the following telegram was received at the headquarters of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance from Wm. L. Brower, the General Secretary of the S. T. & L. A., who was ordered last week to proceed to Allegheny and take charge of the Bessemer Pressed Steel Company strike:

PITTSBURGH, Penn., March 13.—We won. The strike is settled. I stay over a few days longer to organize several new Local Alliances and perfect the organization of the District Alliance.—WM. L. BROWER.

This victory is important in many respects. Not only is it the first large victory won by the S. T. & L. A., but it is a victory that opens a new page in the economic movement of the land.

Started and run by the ignorant and corrupt labor fakirs of pure and simple-

been lost; lost wholly; not only would the demands of the men not have been granted, but the revolutionary spirit that prompted them to rebel would have been run into the ground; perhaps some sham concession might have been made; the only winners, however, would have been the employers and the labor fakirs: the former would have got their workmen back, subdued, as disappointment subdued men, and all the more disheartened for the class struggle; the latter, the fakirs, would have earned the thanks of the employers, and received a bone of some sort or other to gnaw at.

It was wholly different in this instance. Started from the start under the guidance of Alliance men, and conducted to a finish by such intelligent and honest leadership, the strike took a different turn. Even if it had been lost, as far as its immediate demands were concerned, it would not have been lost as an educational incident in the class struggle; but it was won; and the victory not only fully demonstrates worthy efforts but fully demonstrates by illustration the wisdom of the party at large and in New York in particular when it took its stand by the S. T. & L. A.

The economic movement (strikes and boycotts) stood until now discredited before the popular eye. The conclusion was rashly leaped to that there was no help in the economic movement; that all efforts in that direction were misstep. The Alliance, scientifically poised, being grounded not upon imperfect but upon complete facts, denied the dangerous assertion. It pointed out that the failures of the economic movement were the result of stupid and corrupt leadership; that intelligently conducted, the economic movement could be a valuable shield to the workers, and that this weapon of defence could grow into effectiveness and even develop into one of positive aggression if a growing class-conscious political party of the workers stood back of their economic efforts. This has been proven just now at Allegheny by the victory of the 4,000 strikers. From the start the attitude of the strike struck the public of that neigh-

borhood and the company itself as something new. The language of the speakers, their methods, their bearing, stamped them before the public as something superior to anything ever seen on the field of the economic class struggle, and pitched the strikers themselves upon a higher plane. The police intimidations; the conduct of the Gompers A. F. of L. organizers, who sought to introduce dissensions, and, who, true to their ignoble scab-breeding instincts did their level best to have the men lose the strike,—all these and many more episodes that will be described later on in successive issues,—could not avail. For the first time in the history of the Labor Movement in America, the leaders of a strike could truthfully say to the men, as was done in this instance: "82,000 Socialists in land, and more to come, stand back of you!" And thus for the first time in the history of the American Labor Movement the employer was made to realize that he had to deal with a MOVEMENT,—not with an isolated, ill-conducted detachment, but with a whole MOVEMENT, well equipped, in whose arsenal was that most redoubtable of all weapons: the S. L. P. BAL- LOT.

That this victory of the principles of the Alliance was won so soon after its foundation is but additional evidence of its soundness. Often has the taunt been sung at the Alliance: "Where is your success?" For the last two years, these first years of its existence, the Alliance has been laying the foundation for its future success. The sunken piers it was driving by means of an intense agitation were not, of course, known of but to the best informed. Upon these sunken piers now rises the victory at Allegheny,—a victory that will resound class-consciously at the polls next election and demonstrate that the Socialist movement, in order to be effective, must be active in the every-day class struggle, the economic movement; and that such activity will be to a great extent lost if it does not take the ground from under the labor fakir by building up genuine labor organizations.

IN PUEBLO, COLO.

Municipal Programme, Catechism and Ticket of the Socialist Labor Party.

We, members of the Socialist Labor party of Pueblo, in our initial municipal campaign present for the consideration of the voters the following as some of the causes for the existence of our revolutionary party, its aims, methods and tactics:

The concentration of capital in the hands of the few who own the machine and appropriate four-fifths of the product for the privilege of working that machine.

The control by the same few of all the machinery of the government, political, judicial, social, educational and economic by corruption, debauchery, intimidation, force and murder.

Its aim is the total destruction of the present methodless, nonsensical, anarchical form and the erection of a scientific methodical Co-operative Commonwealth, one of equal opportunities for all. Its method is that which has been tested by the experience of International Socialism—educational, to instruct the proletarian or wage slave to a true class-conscious realization of his position in society, that he is positively a wage slave.

Its tactics is to turn the brightness of the meridian sun on all superstition, ignorance, error and fraud whether practiced by political, ecclesiastical, social, economic or industrial fakirs.

And its demands of members, when elected to office, are so positive and just that few will have the temerity to disobey.

MANIFESTO.

The S. L. P. makes no fusion or compromises with any capitalist or pseudo-reform party. Makes no concession or promises in the hope of temporary gain; withholds no attack on fraud, corruption or vice in the fear of an enemy.

But knowing the rapid advance in machinery, the colossal trusts in production and distribution will force the proletarian into organization at no distant day, it pursues the even tenor of its way without regard to the kicks and stabs of fakirs and "I am as good a Socialist as you are, but," and holds aloft the beacon light of truth and directs the way to the only organization for the emancipation of the proletarian which to be peacefully attained must come through political action.

While we are thoroughly in accord with the State, National and International S. L. P. as the first move for the solidarity of the wage earning class we make these specific demands:

First—The municipalization of all public utilities, the gas, electric light power and heat and the extension of the city water plant to the "mess" under a Socialist régime.

Second—The regendering of the city limits to take in the excluded territory, those poor corporations and overburdened land owners.

Third—That all city work be done by the day and eight hours shall constitute a day's work and \$2.00 shall be the minimum wage.

Fourth—The education of all children under fourteen years of age shall be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books and all school supplies when necessary.

Fifth—We demand that public buildings shall be for use by the people for public assemblage without cost.

DO YOU THINK?

Do you think for yourself?

Do you think the Republican gold bug party will relieve your wants or prevent further distress?

Do you think the free silver Democratic party can relieve your wants or prevent further distress?

Do you think the middle-of-the-mor- tage party could relieve your wants or prevent further distress?

Do you think the mutual admiration Prohibition party could relieve your wants or prevent further distress?

Do you think these parties and

(Continued on page 4.)

TURNED DOWN.

The Immediate Results of the Malden S. L. P. Municipal Campaign in Revere, Mass.

REVERE, Mass., March 12.—The local skirmish is over. For the past year the "Citizens" party, a conglomeration, has held the reins of government. In the past year this "Citizens" party broke up our open-air meetings; in the past year this "Citizens" party arrested our comrades, and trailed us through the capitalistic Courts for merely maintaining our rights to free speech. It was this same party that would not allow the "damned Socialists," as they elegantly called us, the occupancy of the Revere Town Hall; it was this same party that utterly ignored and refused us even a small representation at the polls, but—on March 6th, we held the balance of power regardless of all the jockeying and wild understraps, therefore it is with flattering unctious we have to record the dethronement of this party, for on that date the Socialists of Revere drew clean and sharp the keen knife of class-consciousness, and severed the cords of Goo-Goolism that had bound them round for years.

The idiosyncratic arising of lady-understrappers at the polls for School Committee, was an amusing sight to behold.

Ignominiously indeed is the defeat of this "Citizens" party. Out of 25 names upon their ticket they but captured one only; the Socialist comrades cutting down the candidates deep all along the ballot.

True, the immediate result of our own ticket being in the field is the placing of the Republicans in office, who, for this, give us very little credit, if any. Still our principles must be propagated; our speakers must be heard, our literature must be read, and therefore, we shall meet them too at Philippi, when the good time arrives,

(Continued on page 4.)

THE PEOPLE.

Published at 164 William Street, New York
— EVERY SUNDAY —

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Lawfully in advance:

One year \$2.00
Six months 1.33
Three months66
Single copies 10c

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office on April 4, 1891.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) 2,068
In 1890 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential) 21,157
In 1894 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential) 36,564
In 1898 82,204

It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist. The leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the functions of general and judge were attributes of landed property. MARX.

SELF-EXERTION.

The recent election to the United States Senate of the multimillionaire Wm. A. Clark, of Montana, is furnishing the candle-holders of capitalism with at least one more or less idiotic sermon intended to prove that wealth, under the existing social order, is the inevitable reward of industry, thrift, and all the other virtues on the catalogue of virtues. If these gentlemen understood the subject they are handling they would give multimillionaire Wm. A. Clark a wide berth. He, so far from bearing out the nursery-tales of capitalism, overthrows them.

Clark, we are told, owns mines of gold and silver in Colorado and Nevada; owns 15,000 and 30,000 acres of best plantations in California and Nebraska; owns factories in the East for the manufacture of copper wire; owns in the South and in Mexico broad plantations that grow coffee, sugarcane and rubber; and owns banks East and West. This roll of property, from which Clark extracts a daily income of \$5,000, need but to be unrolled in order to knock into a cocked hat the theory that wealth is, under capitalism, the reward of industry—meaning, of course, thereby of the industry of the beneficiary.

It goes without saying that no man lives, ever lived, or ever will live who can himself operate such a variety of industries. Even if he had the mental and physical powers of all the Solomons and Socrateses and of all the Samsons and Fitzhughs combined the thing would be impossible. The \$5,000 a day revenues, stand out, however, as a fact. If he can not produce that wealth, it being impossible for any one man to cover such an area and such a variety of industries, the conclusion is inevitable that his large revenues must flow from the labor of others. Indeed they do so. What multimillionaire Clark's great wealth demonstrates is the Socialist maxim that, under the capitalist system, "Wealth is the product of labor and the reward of idleness."

Barely has the S. T. & L. A. carried the Allegheny, Pa., strike to a successful end, when, encouraged thereby, the Local Alliance at Jeannette, Pa., also strikes against the exploiter. Wm. L. Brower, the National Secretary of the S. T. & L. A., has been called thither to take charge.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

Under the title: "That \$1,000," the London, England, "Labor Leader" gives this bit of information:

We continue to hear of money being spent in the constituency we referred to last week with the object of securing the Labor vote at a forthcoming election. It is now taking the form of paying the expenses of halls for concerts and clearing the cards of trade unionists in arrears with their subscriptions.

Evidently, although extensively disfranchised, the "labor vote" is worth looking after in England, and the British capitalist politicians are beginning to find out the "political uses" that the pure and simple union can be put to,—as their American cousins have long since found out.

It is a pleasure to announce and welcome the birth of still another Socialist publication—"The Workers' Call," published for and under the control of Section Chicago, Ill., of the S. L. P., at 36 North-Clarke street. Its salutation, which reviews the social development from feudalism to capitalism down to our own days when we stand at the threshold of Socialism, it says:

In the first place we shall stand still, upon the lines laid down by the class-conscious international Socialists of the world over. Clear in the position that upon the present producing class rests the destinies of the future, and that their interests are in accord with social development we cast our lot with the members of that class. We shall seek to voice their wrongs, plead their case, and aid in the securing of their final victory. As members of this class, we include all, whether workers with hand or with brain, save those alone who live by means of the tribute exacted through ownership of the instruments necessary to the

production and distribution of the means of life.

The birth of this paper patentizes the fact that the movement in Chicago has, for good and all, cut loose from the silly apron-strings that so long held it back. The city's last vote already indicated that a new, freer, more intelligent, manly spirit was animating the party there, and that thenceforth aggressive work with resultant success could be looked for. The "Workers' Call" has a promising field to work in.

The Terre Haute, Ind., "Toller" is evidently tolling hard to bamboozle the workers and aid the capitalist parties. It says:

WHAT MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP HAS DONE.

In Glasgow, Scotland, it has raised wages, reduced hours and abolished taxation. The street car service turned into the city treasury \$200,000 during the first year; fare two cents; less during early and late hours. In week-end hours, Glasgow is putting in a telephone service.

Not a word of all of which is true.

The Cleveland, O., correspondent to the New York "Vorwärts," German organ of the Socialist Labor party, gives these spicily items on the approaching municipal campaign there:

Next April, there will probably be again five tickets in the field, seeing that, last fall, fate again bestowed upon us a so-called "United Reform Party," the great standing ground for a stack of confusionists. In several other places the "Debserie" is used for such purposes. The Democrats and Republicans have already held their "old lead" McKisson, who adopted a principal programme that claims to be directed against the corporations. For the object of his campaign he has chosen the street railway in which his Republican political adversary Mark Hanna is financially interested.

Some of his hearers, who formerly gave themselves out as Socialists, are now going from saloon to saloon and speak of McKisson as a Socialist, and they "prove" their point by producing a roll of the great and treating while the treating is going on they confidentially inform the treaters that McKisson is a much more practical Socialist than the patent Socialist who goes "a step at a time" first the city is to be captured, then the State, and then the nation.

If the San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" does not look out and persists in its evil ways, there will surely be people calling it a mud-slinger. Just think of a passage like this:

Ex-Governor Altgeld of Illinois is making some violent speeches against the money power. As a remedy for the ills that afflict the body politic he suggests silver at "16 to 1" and the initiative and referendum. For a constitutional disclaimer, he recommends a plunger instead of a purifier. It has probably not occurred to him, that a nation's money is controlled by those who possess the means of production and distribution; and that the initiative and referendum is valuable only as wisely used,—that it is a negative not a positive principle. In the meantime Mr. Altgeld holds on to his "hard currency" position, and then on approved security with good interest when he has a chance, and exemplifies his faith in silver as a means of final payment by demanding contracts payable in gold. Verily, Mr. Altgeld is a free-former with a big R.

There are not less than three dozen worthies we know of and could name forthwith, who will feel particularly hit by such arguments, and, in their usual style, call a well-deserved blow "mud-slinging." We'll "sling" away—all along the line.

The language of the capitalist press of all shades—Republican, Democratic and Reform; gold and silver; protection and free trade,—during the Allegheny strike should not escape observation. All the papers we have seen, of Pittsburgh and New York, cry in one accord against the Socialists. The Allegheny strike, conducted by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, did not at all suit those gentlemen; it was not the article they have been familiar with, or were used to; there were no labor fakirs through whom to delude, mislead, cheat the strikers; and, consequently, there was no rowdism. On the contrary, there was class-conscious intelligence conducting the fight and inspiring the men with the fire of their class dignity; above all there was the ringing assurance to the workers that the 82,000 Socialists, and more coming, of the S. L. P. stood behind and backed them up. In sight of such a phenomenal occurrence in the annals of American strikes, one need not wonder that sentences like the following bristled all over the reports of the strike in the capitalist press:

"Socialists not wanted."
"The Intelligent Workmen on strike don't want to be led by Socialists."
"The non-Socialist strikers are disgusted with the Socialists."
"Riotous Socialists endanger the success of the strike."
Etc., etc., etc.

Ring out the old, ring in the new!

Thieves are falling out among themselves. The Pawtucket, R. I., "Times" has this:

The cream-fed official organ of the trusts, the New York "Evening Post," says sweetly and artlessly that the output of new trust stocks and bonds last year was upward of \$1,000,000,000; that for the first two months of this year, the output was \$1,000,000,000; that the indications are that the total output for this year will be six times as great as it was last year—upward of \$6,000,000,000.

That as a typical illustration of the rapid growth of monopoly and the rapid decline of individual enterprise, Chicago had no more business firms in 1897 than it had in 1870, although in those 27 years its population had been multiplied by eight.

That is to say, the trusts are succeeding beyond their hopes in their endeavor to crush out small competition by a process of illegal but unpunished jimmy and budgeon plunder.

When the outlawed criminal, who is no more outlawed than the trust under the anti-trust law, wishes to rob he wears a mask and works in the still of the night. He knows that detection will result in swift punishment. The trust works openly, violating the statutes made and provided and boldly publishes its crimes in its official organs, so that all may read and know that the trust is superior to the law. The law is none to smother the trusts. Why?

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

THE FIRST 100 BILLS.

One evening, in the heat of last year's campaign in this city, a large crowd being gathered around a Socialist truck in the 16th Assembly District, a Tammany Hall city office-holder interrupted the speaker with frequent questions; the answers he received turned his questions into boomerangs; he became rattled, and demanded, in the name of free speech, that be given 5 minutes; he was granted 10 and took 25. The gist of his argument was the folly of sending a Socialist to the State Legislature at Albany, "because," said he, "a bill comes up; the Democrats vote aye and the Republicans vote no; what is the Socialist to do? he would have to dodge and not vote at all; he is useless there; therefore the voters of the District will lose their votes if they elect a Socialist Assemblyman; they should elect the Democratic candidate, Mr. Benjamin Hoffman; he won't have to dodge; his vote will tell every time."

A tremendous crowd had gathered by that time. It intently listened to the answer by the Socialist speaker, who proved that the theory of the Tammanite was false; that theory proceeded from the assumption that Democrats and Republicans were divided upon matters that concerned the working class; they were not; they were divided only upon matters the issue of which was which set of capitalists, Democratic or Republican, should have the larger share of the hide of the working class; only upon that were the two old parties divided, and when such matters were up, the thunder from a Socialist Assemblyman would be so effective, inside and outside of the Assembly Rooms, as to make it valuable for the whole people; upon all other questions, and these by far the more numerous, Republicans and Democrats WERE NOT DIVIDED; they were absolutely at one; both Republicans and Democrats are there mainly to oppress the working class and help the capitalists in the work of fleecing labor; consequently, there was no such thing as "Democrats voting aye" and "Republicans voting no," and thus compelling the Socialist "to dodge"; he won't have to dodge. Republicans and Democrats don't divide upon the matters that concern the working class; they VOTE SOLIDLY FOR everything that will aid and SOLIDLY AGAINST everything that will prevent the employer or capitalist class from skinning the workman; there is no chance of a Socialist Assemblyman having to do any "dodging"; the laws against the workingman for the capitalist class are passed UNANIMOUSLY, Democrats and Republicans voting together as one man.

This answer, that had but to be made in order to be accepted as luminous by every intelligent man present, was received with rounds upon rounds of applause; and the vote taken on the spot showed but 6 hands for Tammany, while those that went up for the S. L. P. were too numerous to be counted.

This happened late last October. We have since had in session at Albany the Legislature elected in November. Below is a graphic and crushing presentation of the truth of the Socialist's answer to the capitalist political heeler. The oneness of Democrats and Republicans appears strikingly from the following list giving the vote on the first 100 bills that passed the Assembly:

1st—85 ayes, 58 noes.	51st—ayes 130, noes none.
2nd—ayes 130, noes none.	52nd—ayes 137, noes none.
3rd—unanimous.	53rd—ayes 137, noes none.
4th—ayes 130, noes none.	54th—ayes 137, noes none.
5th—ayes 137, noes none.	55th—ayes 137, noes none.
6th—85 ayes, 58 noes.	56th—ayes 137, noes none.
7th—ayes 137, noes none.	57th—ayes 137, noes none.
8th—ayes 114, noes none.	58th—ayes 137, noes none.
9th—ayes 109, noes none.	59th—ayes 137, noes none.
10th—ayes 136, noes none.	60th—ayes 137, noes none.
11th—ayes 137, noes none.	61st—ayes 137, noes none.
12th—ayes 136, noes none.	62nd—ayes 137, noes none.
13th—unanimous.	63rd—ayes 137, noes none.
14th—ayes 53, noes 78.	64th—ayes 137, noes none.
15th—ayes 80, noes none.	65th—ayes 137, noes none.
16th—ayes 112, noes none.	66th—ayes 137, noes none.
17th—ayes 108, noes none.	67th—ayes 137, noes none.
18th—ayes 138, noes none.	68th—ayes 137, noes none.
19th—ayes 102, noes none.	69th—ayes 137, noes none.
20th—ayes 143, noes none.	70th—ayes 137, noes none.
21st—ayes 114, noes none.	71st—ayes 137, noes none.
22nd—ayes 115, noes none.	72nd—ayes 137, noes none.
23rd—ayes 122, noes none.	73rd—ayes 137, noes none.
24th—ayes 127, noes none.	74th—ayes 137, noes none.
25th—ayes 120, noes none.	75th—ayes 137, noes none.
26th—ayes 115, noes 1.	76th—ayes 137, noes none.
27th—ayes 134, noes none.	77th—ayes 137, noes none.
28th—ayes 137, noes none.	78th—ayes 137, noes none.
29th—ayes 136, noes none.	79th—ayes 137, noes none.
30th—ayes 131, noes none.	80th—ayes 137, noes none.
31st—ayes 134, noes none.	81st—ayes 137, noes none.
32nd—ayes 137, noes none.	82nd—ayes 137, noes none.
33rd—ayes 110, noes 1.	83rd—ayes 137, noes none.
34th—ayes 113, noes none.	84th—ayes 137, noes none.
35th—ayes 110, noes none.	85th—ayes 137, noes none.
36th—ayes 105, noes none.	86th—ayes 137, noes none.
37th—ayes 137, noes none.	87th—ayes 137, noes none.
38th—ayes 136, noes none.	88th—ayes 137, noes none.
39th—ayes 143, noes none.	89th—ayes 137, noes none.
40th—ayes 136, noes none.	90th—ayes 137, noes none.
41st—ayes 137, noes none.	91st—ayes 137, noes none.
42nd—ayes 137, noes none.	92nd—ayes 137, noes none.
43rd—ayes 137, noes none.	93rd—ayes 137, noes none.
44th—ayes 130, noes none.	94th—ayes 137, noes none.
45th—ayes 134, noes none.	95th—ayes 137, noes none.
46th—ayes 137, noes none.	96th—ayes 137, noes none.
47th—ayes 133, noes none.	97th—ayes 137, noes none.
48th—ayes 131, noes 1.	98th—ayes 137, noes none.
49th—ayes 138, noes none.	99th—ayes 137, noes none.
50th—ayes 137, noes none.	100th—ayes 137, noes none.

Thus, out of the first 100 bills, 89 passed with absolute unanimity. But even these figures do not tell the whole tale. Of the remaining 11, 6 passed with virtual unanimity, so that, prac-

tically, 95 out of the 100 were bills on which the "warring" Democrats and Republicans—warring during campaign time, when they make the workman believe there is a great difference between them, so great that their politicians will be firing their votes against each other—stood cheek by jowl, went hand in hand, marched "arm and arm."

Nor yet does this presentation exhaust the matter. The 5 bills on which Democrats stood arrayed against Republicans were, each of them, bills for party spoils—not one affected the workers.

Nor yet is the presentation of the oneness of the old parties complete. An inquiry into the nature of the 95 bills that were passed unanimously, or to all intents and purposes so, brings out still more clearly the fraudulent pretences of old parties' feuds. These were bills that concerned capitalist interests only—conspicuous among these was one to bestow increased patronage upon several Judges of the Supreme Court, who, in their zeal for "Law and Order," had distinguished themselves by the issuing of injunctions against workmen on strike against their fleeing employers.

It is stated that, after the campaign incident above referred to in the 16th Assembly District, and enraged at the popular manifestation in favor of the Socialist Labor party, that the incident evoked, Mr. Benjamin Hoffman, the Democratic candidate for the Assembly, looked up his fellow politician, who had started the debate, and spouting obscene invectives at him, exclaimed:

"You — — —, if I am defeated, YOU did it!"

Right was Hoffman. Through his mouth on that occasion the combined Democratic and Republican parties voiced their pent-up sentiments. Anything that contributes to undecieve the masses is a nail, driven into the coffin of the old parties and of the capitalist system, which they both uphold upon the back of the working class. Where, for instance, was Hoffman when those 95 capitalist bills were being passed? Where was he when that bill was passed increasing the patronage of Labor opposing Judges? Where was he all along during the discussion of these pro-capitalist and anti-labor laws? Was he wrestling with his Republican adversaries? No! No! No! If there was any wrestling done, it was a wrestling to get ahead of each other in doing the dirty work of the Labor-skinning capitalist class!

The Republican party and the Democratic party are the right hand and the left hand of that obscene beast—the CAPITALIST CLASS, that lives on the sweat of the brow of the working class. There is no difference between the two. The workers' path towards their emancipation lies across the prostrate carcasses of both sets of politicians, laid prostrate with the Hammer blows of the Socialist Labor party ballot.

QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

A number of questions,—economic, political and administrative,—have reached this office from Texas. They are dealt with in the below series.

I.
Neither the Rev. F. M. Sprague nor Edward Bellamy are authoritative writers of Socialism. The former's economics are, to say the least, rather mixed. As to the latter, his place is a distinguished one in the literature that has been heralding the approaching storm of the Social Revolution. But his place, distinguished though it is, locates him with the sentimental rather than with the practical workers. This was well illustrated by his joining the Populist party. His sentiment was captivated, and carried him off into a movement whose main spring was reactionary.

II.
The "law of rent" is as unscientific an expression as that other that one hears quite frequently now-a-days: "natural monopolies." Every monopoly is natural. There is no more sense in the "law of rent" than there would be in the "law of the price of wheat." The price of wheat and its value are governed by the same law that governs the price and value of all other merchandise; the so-called "law of rent" is but the law of the price of land or of its use; as land is a merchandise, like any other, with no source of value other than the source of value of any other merchandise, the term "law of rent" is essentially false. According, in the place of the "law of rent," Socialism offers the "law of values" which covers the whole ground.

III.
"Competition on equal terms" is an impossibility under the system of the private ownership of the necessary machinery of production, except during the early days of small production, i. e., of small tools. So soon as the tool, necessary for production, becomes so large that it can no longer be operated individually, competition, on equal or any other terms, is out of date, to all intents and purposes as fully out of date as the dodo.

Arrived at that end of the social road, one set of people perseveres in the utopian attempts to make competition still possible. Their schemes are numerous; the single taxer is among them. But all these schemes are quackeries. They proceed from the ignorance of the development, of the meaning of the word, "Capital." Monopoly essentially continues to rule. An other set, however, the Socialist, realizing that competition has become impossible, moves on. The same facts, that point out to the Socialist the utter impossibility of the continuance of competition, point out to him the path to pursue in order to avoid the evil results of private monopoly. Socialism demands the nationalization, the collective ownership of the monopoly, thus drawing the sting from bee. Look out for the article on "Trusts" in next May-Day issue of THE PEOPLE.

IV.

Under Socialism, the land would be treated the same as all other articles of the nation's wealth.

That part of the land, necessary to production, would be held collectively, just the same as the rest of that part

of the nation's wealth that is its necessary machinery of production.

That part of the land that is not part of the nation's necessary machinery of production, would be treated just the same as the rest of what may be called "the nation's wealth for consumption," or be it "use." Land is not usable for habitation (consumption) unless labor has been bestowed upon it,—no more than leather is usable for foot-wear unless labor has been bestowed upon it. Such land—just as shoes, hats and toothpicks,—would be wealth collectively produced by the nation; and, just as with shoes, hats, toothpicks, etc., the individual members of the Socialist Commonwealth, would have a right to as much thereof as is equal to the share he contributed towards the nation's collective wealth.

The bare idea of living in a Socialist Commonwealth "independently of its industrial institutions" is preposterous;—unless by "living" be meant the occupancy of a grave.

V.
Socialism will be inaugurated just "the same as any other social policy." When the majority takes control of a Government it legislates its principles into effect. The minority that resists beyond the bounds of civilized dissent will have to be made to submit.

VI.
The manner in which the S. L. P.'s National Executive Committee and National Board of Appeals are selected is the only practical method so far found. The charge that the manner is undemocratic, on the ground that the selection is made only by the members of the Section in which those bodies are located, loses much of its weight seeing that that manner of selection has been adopted and ratified by referendum votes of the whole party.

Whether this method is wise is an other question. In the party's opinion so far expressed, it is the only practical way. The point involves two questions:

1. Who shall do the selecting?—The proposition that the National Convention do it is impractical; members of the N. E. C. resign with great frequency; the National Conventions meet only once every four years. Shall a general vote be taken of the whole party to fill each vacancy? That would take too long. Or shall the place or places remain vacant till the next National Convention meets?

2. Who shall be elected?—This is certainly becoming a burning question. Fault is found that, as now constituted, being elected from the membership of one city, the N. E. C. is not NATIONAL. The point is certainly well taken. On the other hand, owing to the party's poverty, and the resultant impossibility of the members of a truly national committee coming together from all parts of the country with the frequency that is requisite, a N. E. C. consisting of the several States would make the N. E. C. NATIONAL. Indeed, but would destroy its EXECUTIVE function. Unable to meet, the executive function would be paralyzed.

There is really no danger of the party's choosing "Raccoon township or Possum Hollow as the seat of its N. E. C., where the distinguishing characteristics of the membership is mediocrity, or venality or any other bad trait." To the extent that the danger is apprehended, as put in the above quotation, it does not exist. To the extent, however, that the above quotation does point out a possible danger, it does not militate seriously against the present method. Should one, or more or all of the members, elected by a city on the N. E. C., be considered unfit, the party at large has under the constitution (IV. 4. a.) an ample method of redress; a general vote can declare any or all of such seats vacant, and order a new election; and should the new returns again prove unsatisfactory, a general vote of the party could be easily got ordering the removal of the seat of the N. E. C. to a safer place.

The present method of selecting the N. E. C. has been adopted by the party obedient to the wise principle that directs one to cut his coat according to his cloth.

VII.
The reason why the party's constitution provides that the place of holding the National Convention shall be determined by a general vote, but the time shall be fixed by the N. E. C. is this: The towns liable to be nominated and thus voted on are comparatively few; the vote thereon would indicate the party's preference. On the other hand, the "dates" liable to be nominated are numerous; hence a vote on them is likely to be so split up that the date that polls the highest vote may have polled a vote that is slight compared to the poll for all the other dates. Such a date would not indicate the party's preference. That is just what happened at the time of the last National Convention; for that reason the constitution was then changed and made to read as it now does on that point.

LECTURES.

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Corrigan, of Syracuse: Commune Festival, March 18, 8 p. m., at Fillmore Theater Hall, Fillmore avenue and Broadway. Tickets, 10 cents.

—Sunday, March 19, "Socialism. What it is and what it is not," New York Hall, Main Street, Labor Lyceum, 276 Main street, 8 p. m.

L. B. Budanow, "Materialism and Literature," Tuesday, March 21, at 65 Columbia street, New York.

James Allman, "Internationalism," Friday, March 17, at 98 Avenue C, New York.

James Allman, "Philosophy of History," Sunday, March 19, 98 Avenue C, New York.

A. S. Brown, "The Labor Movement in America," Sunday, 8 p. m., at 328 East 11th street, New York.

N. L. Shobodin, "The Unwritten Constitution of the United States," Sunday, March 19, at 115 East 110th street, at the Club House of the 32d and 33d Assembly District.

Daniel De Leon, "The Working Class and Politics," Thursday, March 23d, Renewer Hall, corner Broadway and Willoughby avenue, Brooklyn.

B. F. Keland, "The Class Struggle," free telegraphic illustrated lecture, March 20, 8 p. m., at 125 West 100th street, New York. The same lecture, March 21, 8 p. m., at 125 Amsterdam avenue, and at Beckman's Hall, corner of 142d street and Eighth avenue, on Thursday, March 23d, 8 p. m.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Brother Jonathan—I'd like to know upon what principle Socialists claim that the working class should have all the wealth, and the capitalist class none.

Uncle Sam—Upon the very simple principle that the working class does all the work of production and the capitalist does none.

B. J.—Go away!

U. S.—Whither?

B. J.—I can't care whither in particular. That's not so!

U. S.—What's not so?

B. J.—That the capitalists do not work.

U. S.—If you know of any who does, let me know.

B. J.—Did you ever hear of Jay Gould?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Did you ever read his biography?

U. S.—Several of them; and they prove my statement.

B. J.—You must have been asleep while reading them; or you must have read very imperfect ones.

U. S.—Neither.

B. J.—Why, I remember distinctly that it is recorded in the one I read that he used to work regularly 16 hours a day.

U. S.—puts his hands to his hips and roars.

B. J.—What are you roaring about?

U. S.—At your blunder. I now see the funny error that you have fallen in.

B. J.—What error?

U. S.—You are getting mixed up on the word "work." See here. Does a pickpocket "work," or does he not?

B. J.—Guess he does.

CORRESPONDENCE.

(Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.)

Comrade Jackson's "Socialism from A to Z" Discussed.

To THE PEOPLE.—By resolution of the Columbus Section, S. L. P., I am instructed to ask you if the article "Socialism from A to Z" on the front page of your issue of February 19, 1899, was submitted to you and published with such prominence by you and authority?

Second, to ask you if the enclosed clipping from said article is a class-conscious doctrine according to the tenets of the S. L. P.?

Third, to ask you if the article is an open advocacy of the rights of persons to acquire private property and hold it as long as they can, and to be distinguished by acquiring and holding more than your fellow man in a small way wherein is the distinction made to be in dollars and cents, from a dollar to a million?

Please give an immediate reply so as to alleviate an irritation that is at present very injurious to your paper here.

J. GREENE, Committee.
Columbus, O., March 6.

(Below is the clipping enclosed.)

This rapidly approaching industrial revolution will be distinguished by one characteristic that has marked no previous revolution: the wage workers will be class-conscious of their historic mission, of the class struggle that has lasted so long in society and of the fact that the only way to the whole race to be emancipated from economic bondage and elevated to the highest plane of intellectual and moral culture is through the class struggle. The intelligent wage workers and class-conscious members of labor organizations all over the civilized world are rapidly falling into line for political action in this direction. This knowledge on the part of the wage class, and this alone, will enable them to inaugurate Socialism without bloodshed and hold it when they get it.

The inauguration of Socialism will not be an attack on private property. On the contrary, it will defend the right of private property in labor as well as in the material things upon which labor is expended. No Socialism advocates any confiscation of property, confiscation of property goes on under capitalism; but he does emphatically demand that confiscation of property in labor by capital be stopped.

The big industries, as public property, would be operated under Socialism just as they are now, for the best interest of their owners, i. e., the best interest of all the people. Improvements in machinery and methods, and enlargement of productive capacity would be carried on with even more vigor than at present. Every employee would be paid just as he now, in proportion to his ability and the time he worked. The products would be sold at their cost of production which would be determined by the amount of average simple abstract human labor expended in producing them as a basis of exchange of commodities.

The incentive, under Socialism, will be in line to the highest positions in your line of occupation and thus secure the best remuneration or your ability and industry. In fact, the social distinction of the individual can never be correctly ascertained until we get to Socialism, for the opportunity being the same to all, the result of a person's natural ability and individual effort will determine his social status. There is no incentive to the individual under Socialism, the total wealth produced will be divided as remuneration amongst all the public employees, whatever service they may be performing for society, and each will be paid in proportion to his ability and the time he works. Thus, industry and thrift will always be accompanied by wealth, and vice versa.

Upon such all industries, it is quite evident that the individual, whether male or female, will have unrestricted opportunity to select any trade, business or profession he or she may choose so long as such occupation is not already overcrowded; in which case the remuneration in such occupation would be reduced and the incentive placed where help was needed. Women will be entitled to the same remuneration as men for equal ability and effort.

If this point is understood, all apprehension must vanish on the score of the danger of any one man's becoming possessed of large property; the fear that prompts our correspondent's question: "If it is right to become distinguished by acquiring and holding more than your fellow man in a small way, wherein is the distinction made to be in dollars and cents, from a dollar to a million?" becomes baseless.

He, who, capable of work, does so, surely must be more distinguished than he, who, also capable of work, does not; and it is inevitable, natural and just that the former should "acquire and hold," and enjoy more property than the latter. Under Socialism, however (due to the public ownership of the nation's necessary machinery of production), this distinction, however great it may be in theory, can not possibly turn, as it does to-day, into a weapon whereby to subjugate any human being. The reason why, to-day, the owner of large wealth can subjugate those less favorably circumstanced is that the necessary machinery of production is exclusively in private hands,—directly or indirectly in the hands of the capitalist class. Under such circumstances, he who does not own "capital" can not exert his labor power, mental or physical, unless he first sells himself into wage slavery to the capitalist. Under Socialism (due to the public ownership of the nation's necessary machinery of production), everyone, capable to work, as the architect of his own fortune. If he does work, he has the opportunity to work where he will, receive his full social share; he surely will not go to work for a private person, who would allow him less than his social share. If any one, owing to his own industry, has accumulated so much property that he could set up, say, a fully Northrop-loom-equipped mill, and he has a man (because it could be nothing else than a man) to set up such a plant, it could be of no use to him other than a toy: who would apply to him for work and be fleeced by him, when the national mills and shops would afford freedom? On the other hand, he who is capable to work and does not, will have none else but himself to blame for his privations.

The "millionaire" is a source of tyranny in capitalist society only; in the Socialist Republic, the "millionaire," the ownership of millions, if there be any, would be no more a source of tyranny than the present ownership of one of the robber-barons' burges-frowning down from some German rock-ribbed hill-top, and now owned, as several are, by some American pork-packing upstart.—Is a source of tyranny to the present wayfarer. As the latter is now, so would the former be then, merely a manifestation of eccentric ostentation, and for the same reason:—the social structure that furnished them with their sting has been snuffed out, snuffing out the sting along with it.—ED. THE PEOPLE.

1. The article "Socialism from A to Z" on the front page of THE PEOPLE of last February 19, was submitted to us, and published as it was by our authority.

2. The only clue to what seems objectionable to the Columbus Section Committee in the above long clipping, which it encloses, is to be gathered from the following passage in our correspondent's closing paragraph:

"The 'millionaire' is a source of tyranny in capitalist society only; in the Socialist Republic, the 'millionaire,' the ownership of millions, if there be any, would be no more a source of tyranny than the present ownership of one of the robber-barons' burges-frowning down from some German rock-ribbed hill-top, and now owned, as several are, by some American pork-packing upstart.—Is a source of tyranny to the present wayfarer. As the latter is now, so would the former be then, merely a manifestation of eccentric ostentation, and for the same reason:—the social structure that furnished them with their sting has been snuffed out, snuffing out the sting along with it.—ED. THE PEOPLE."

The special feature will be articles illustrating the standing and development of the Labor Movement in general, and of Socialism in particular, in the several States where the S. L. P. is organized.

The articles will be written by comrades familiar with, and prominent in the local movement. Also articles bearing upon the internationality of Socialism, and all the regular and striking features of THE PEOPLE.

Last but not least, the front page will be illustrated by an allegorical picture, especially designed for that issue, by THE PEOPLE's able artist, whose work has won so much and deserved appreciation.

The size of this issue will be

Eight Pages,

and will be the same as usual.

It will be an excellent issue for agitation.

Comrades and comrades should hasten to make use of this rare opportunity to spread our ideas by recommending friends and co-workers with THE PEOPLE.

We expect to receive sufficient orders to be able to print not less than 75,000 copies.

Orders will be taken on Tuesday, April 19th, inclusive. But the earlier the better.

Spread the May-Day People from ocean to ocean! A good harvest is bound to follow.

"The People"

184 William St.

New York, N. Y., City.

"The right of persons to acquire private property and hold the same."

Socialism does not, as is still believed by many of its adversaries, take the field against "private property"; what it does take the field against is "private property in the machinery necessary for production and distribution." It takes the field against that, not as an adversary of "private property," but, on the contrary, as an upholder of the right to private property, which the present capitalist system, with its "private ownership in the machinery necessary for production and distribution," shockingly violates. Socialism argues that the product of human exertion belongs to those who so exert themselves; that theirs is the right to such product or property; and that, to-day, owing to the "private ownership of the machinery necessary for such production," the capitalist, or idle class despoils the working class; i. e., robs the working class of its property. Socialism, accordingly, aims at overthrowing the present system of "private property in the machinery necessary to production," and at substituting that with common or collective ownership, for the very purpose of securing to the workers their now violated proprietary rights in the product of their labor. It has taken long to make the distinction clear: to make clear that what Socialism wants is, not the common property of wealth, but the common property of that portion of the nation's wealth that is necessary for modern production. In other words, the common property of capital, as distinguished from wealth for consumption or enjoyment. Even dictionaries and cyclopedias have now finally and very generally grasped the point, and no longer give the former confused and false definition of Socialism as a system that "advocates a community of property." The confusion in the public mind arose, and where it still exists, arises from a lax use of the word "property." With a special eye to the term "property," the Standard Dictionary correctly defines Socialism as aiming at its goal "through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property)," etc.

If this point is understood, all apprehension must vanish on the score of the danger of any one man's becoming possessed of large property; the fear that prompts our correspondent's question: "If it is right to become distinguished by acquiring and holding more than your fellow man in a small way, wherein is the distinction made to be in dollars and cents, from a dollar to a million?" becomes baseless.

He, who, capable of work, does so, surely must be more distinguished than he, who, also capable of work, does not; and it is inevitable, natural and just that the former should "acquire and hold," and enjoy more property than the latter. Under Socialism, however (due to the public ownership of the nation's necessary machinery of production), this distinction, however great it may be in theory, can not possibly turn, as it does to-day, into a weapon whereby to subjugate any human being. The reason why, to-day, the owner of large wealth can subjugate those less favorably circumstanced is that the necessary machinery of production is exclusively in private hands,—directly or indirectly in the hands of the capitalist class. Under such circumstances, he who does not own "capital" can not exert his labor power, mental or physical, unless he first sells himself into wage slavery to the capitalist. Under Socialism (due to the public ownership of the nation's necessary machinery of production), everyone, capable to work, as the architect of his own fortune. If he does work, he has the opportunity to work where he will, receive his full social share; he surely will not go to work for a private person, who would allow him less than his social share. If any one, owing to his own industry, has accumulated so much property that he could set up, say, a fully Northrop-loom-equipped mill, and he has a man (because it could be nothing else than a man) to set up such a plant, it could be of no use to him other than a toy: who would apply to him for work and be fleeced by him, when the national mills and shops would afford freedom? On the other hand, he who is capable to work and does not, will have none else but himself to blame for his privations.

The "millionaire" is a source of tyranny in capitalist society only; in the Socialist Republic, the "millionaire," the ownership of millions, if there be any, would be no more a source of tyranny than the present ownership of one of the robber-barons' burges-frowning down from some German rock-ribbed hill-top, and now owned, as several are, by some American pork-packing upstart.—Is a source of tyranny to the present wayfarer. As the latter is now, so would the former be then, merely a manifestation of eccentric ostentation, and for the same reason:—the social structure that furnished them with their sting has been snuffed out, snuffing out the sting along with it.—ED. THE PEOPLE.

To THE PEOPLE.—I read the following in the 19th inst. I read the following in the article by Jackson, "Socialism from A to Z": "The incentive, under Socialism, will be in line to the highest positions in your line of occupation and thus secure the best remuneration or your ability and industry. In fact, the social distinction of the individual can never be correctly ascertained until we get to Socialism, for the opportunity being the same to all, the result of a person's natural ability and individual effort will determine his social status. There is no incentive to the individual under Socialism, the total wealth produced will be divided as remuneration amongst all the public employees, whatever service they may be performing for society, and each will be paid in proportion to his ability and the time he works. Thus, industry and thrift will always be accompanied by wealth, and vice versa."

Upon such all industries, it is quite evident that the individual, whether male or female, will have unrestricted opportunity to select any trade, business or profession he or she may choose so long as such occupation is not already overcrowded; in which case the remuneration in such occupation would be reduced and the incentive placed where help was needed. Women will be entitled to the same remuneration as men for equal ability and effort.

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The "millionaire" is a source of tyranny in capitalist society only; in the Socialist Republic, the "millionaire," the ownership of millions, if there be any, would be no more a source of tyranny than the present ownership of one of the robber-barons' burges-frowning down from some German rock-ribbed hill-top, and now owned, as several are, by some American pork-packing upstart.—Is a source of tyranny to the present wayfarer. As the latter is now, so would the former be then, merely a manifestation of eccentric ostentation, and for the same reason:—the social structure that furnished them with their sting has been snuffed out, snuffing out the sting along with it.—ED. THE PEOPLE.

Upon such all industries, it is quite evident that the individual, whether male or female, will have unrestricted opportunity to select any trade, business or profession he or she may choose so long as such occupation is not already overcrowded; in which case the remuneration in such occupation would be reduced and the incentive placed where help was needed. Women will be entitled to the same remuneration as men for equal ability and effort.

If this point is understood, all apprehension must vanish on the score of the danger of any one man's becoming possessed of large property; the fear that prompts our correspondent's question: "If it is right to become distinguished by acquiring and holding more than your fellow man in a small way, wherein is the distinction made to be in dollars and cents, from a dollar to a million?" becomes baseless.

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working class would be subjugated; there would be no Socialism.

CHAS. LARSON.

Altoona, Pa., March 7.

[The first objection raised is not warranted except upon a very narrow construction of the passage "the highest remuneration for your ability and industry." In part, this objection is answered above; he who can and doesn't work is guilty of a social crime; for the rest, all labor, indispensable to a common end, is entitled to equal consideration. The article warrants no other construction.]

On the other hand, the generous impulses of the race will always break forth in gratitude and admiration for individual excellence. This does not mean that such gratitude and admiration shall take the manifestation of a "remuneration" that shall place into the hands of the excellent individual the "sword of the tyrant,"—whether the sword be literally a sword, as under former social systems, or such exclusive wealth as will enable the holder to turn his fellow-men into wage slaves, as under capitalism; the remuneration most coveted by the Roman, in the palmiest days of Rome's virility, was the most inoffensive of things—the oak leaf crown. Who would object to that, except the envious?

The second point is no objection to the article in question, but is a separate question. He who says Socialism will come on whether we will it or no, uses a very unguarded expression. It is a feature of social evolution that, the more advanced its stage, the greater also is the role that the human intellect plays therein. Science, whose distinctive characteristic is to bestow prescience, here steps in, rendering man the handmaid of evolution. At no social stage has social evolution needed the aid of man to the extent of our own. Socialism will or will not come on, according as the race is or is not enlightened enough to enable it to detect the evolutionary law and foresee events. If the race is not, a catastrophe will ensue. The view that Socialism will come anyhow is a spot on the road that leads, through a variety of paths, into a quagmire: one path is fatalism; another is "reform"; a third is the narrow-sighted understanding of "something new"; etc., etc. Hence the unflinching tactics of the S. L. P., planted upon our uncompromising platform, is a policy of unquestionable wisdom.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

Events in Greater New York, S. L. P., are Beginning to Call the Attention of Outside Comrades.

To THE PEOPLE.—I was astounded to see, from the resolutions of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, dated Feb. 13, 1899, that THE PEOPLE of the 5th instant, what important party matters are now transpiring in Section Greater New York. Important because they concern the very life of the party. The resolutions are for the National Executive Committee. The wide-awake country, outside of New York, is interested in this. The General Committee of Section Greater New York to publish its proceedings in the future in THE PEOPLE and "Vorwärts," the official party organs, was actually a necessary step.

G. LANGNER.
Milford, Conn., March 10.

Deblat "Blows" at Capitalism.

To THE PEOPLE.—New England, the hunting ground of all sorts of freak movements in the past, is to-day passing through the most unusual stage of freemasonry, the Deblat movement. Since the Deblats first set their snicker-snee, called for the sake of a large catch. "The Social Democratic party," this immediate movement, has been and is more active than ever, well calculated to prove the contention of the Deblats, that their "tactics" are different from those of the narrow-minded Socialists. The Deblat movement is a new thing about it is that the Deblats—the dupes, not the dupers,—will tell you seriously that they are striking a blow at capitalism. It is a different blow which have been made by them lately.

The first blow was struck on Feb. 14, at Exeter, N. H., a nearby town, by John Chase of Exeter, a member of the S. L. P. of Exeter. How he proceeded to "embalm" the question is best described by the following reports of the meeting, which was printed in the "Gazette," and is here reproduced verbatim:

"A LIVELY MEETING."

"Major Chase of Exeterhill Leads. Remarks by C. H. Knight, Gen. Gale and others."

"The meeting Saturday evening at the town hall was a decided success. The Social Democracy of Exeter have heretofore not been able to draw out more than a baker's dozen of adherents to their cause. Major Chase of Exeterhill seems to be a whole team when it comes to drawing and even a little yellard dog under the wagon was not lacking judging from the applause he elicited from the best part of the hall saying to Gen. Gale that he had after election cut down wages 10 per cent."

"Major Chase himself was perfectly fair and he was able to show that the Deblat movement is not a new thing, but is a part of the old system which is hard upon EMPLOYERS AS WELL AS WORKMEN. For no man is secure, but all are struggling, some to prevent falling, the great multitude to save themselves from the brink of ruin. LESS COMPETITION CROWDS TO THE WALL MANY A NOBLE EMPLOYER and crushes in the dust many a worthy workman. The Deblat movement is a remedy, it is ineffectual. What is needed is the co-operative commonwealth when men instead of struggling against each other, will be able to combine their efforts for the benefit of all."

"What to begin? In municipal ownership of franchises. Gas and electric plants, water works, street car lines, etc., should be owned by cities. He cited figures as to the cost of electricity in Exeter, where the price of the lights had come down from an average of over 6 cents per night to less than 3 cents. Exeter, owns all its franchises, and the city is not so far from the truth when it says that it is a city, while they have cheap and perfect service. Pausing for questions, C. H. Knight drew out some valuable answers as to the workings of the proposed new system. He said, 'I have made some excellent remarks as to the need of a better understanding between CAPITAL AND LABOR, giving some of the difficulties of the employers standpoint in adjusting right the rewards of labor. A number of pointed inquiries were answered in an emphatic manner.'

"The Deblat address by the chairman, Manfred Tebbetts, showed him to be eloquent in behalf of the cause which he said would give to political parties their leading issues. The amount taken in at the door indicates that including about one hundred ladies who came in free the number in attendance must have been over 400. After dinner, the speaker, C. H. Knight, will receive \$15.55. Another meeting will be held soon when Representative Carey of Exeterhill will speak."

It will be observed that Mr. Chase was followed by Gen. S. H. Gale. Who is Gen. S. H. Gale? That the Deblats are THE PEOPLE may be known. I give the following biographic sketch: Gen. S. H. Gale is one of the largest shoe manufacturers in New England, and is familiarly known to the credit of the Deblat movement. He is a "S. L. P." man. A title which was given him by shoe-makers because of his ability to skin them worse than any other they had come in contact with. He is a capitalist long after his "Generalship" has

been forgotten, seeing that no other manufacturer, yet heard from, has ever been "General" since he was "General" to the shoe-makers. What ever the other manufacturers might, "Gen." "Shiny" Gale proved his general ability to skin the shoe-makers by his "Generalship" to-day his wigwag holds more of the skin of the workers than all the other "skins" with which we have had to deal put together.

Mr. Chase had as good a knowledge of the above facts as we have; yet he permitted this "blood sucking parasite" to speak at a meeting, held ostensibly in behalf of the shoe-makers, and the Deblat, for the ranting hypocritical language which he held, or of the system to which his life has been given in support of. In fact, he was a member of the Deblat movement, about Glasgow, where he is, don't bother them, and about how many a "nob" employer was crushed out by this system, etc., etc. That is the sample as taken from the "Globe."

The next blow from which I submit a specimen for inspection was blown in Boston on the eve of Feb. 13, before the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. of Boston, and in the company of their representatives, Mayors Josiah Quincy of Boston and James H. Eaton of Lawrence. The following report of the meeting, held at the Boston "Globe," was printed in the Boston "Globe." I submit extracts of the long report of that "Dinner," as printed in the "Globe":

"John C. Chase, the Socialist Mayor of Exeterhill, was a guest, last evening, at the dinner of the National Executive Committee, composed largely of manufacturers, and he seized the occasion to talk to them like a Dutch uncle, to use an old-fashioned colloquialism."

That is to say, having been an operative in a shoe factory himself, and having very pronounced views of what he regards as unjust conditions as affecting shoe operations, he lectured them on the Deblat, and opinions freely and with his hearers that he believed they will have troubles of their own pretty soon, when a boot and shoe manufacturer, who is a member of the Deblat, or else "send them back to the bench."

He discussed government control and management of public utilities, advocating the policy very strongly.

"He cited Glasgow, Scot., as a city where no taxes are levied, thanks to the revenue derived from municipal control of certain public enterprises."

"Lewiston, Me., by managing its own electric gas plant, he claimed, has reduced the cost of its light one-third, while Exeterhill, N. H., has reduced the cost from 80 cents to 15 cents a light."

"As to the argument of the interference with corporate rights, he said that when a corporation is created, it is created for the benefit of the community, and the principles of our form of government are subverted."

"Improved machinery, he said, has been a curse because it has thrown millions of men out of work, and it will continue to make wages go down steadily."

"It won't do to keep on adding to the army of the unemployed, he said, and then he pointed out that the Deblat, when the boot and shoe trust, which he predicted, becomes an accomplished fact."

"After pronouncing in favor of control of the means of production, he concluded with the assertion that Mayor Quincy has accomplished much, and the next step is to be municipal control of such enterprises as lighting plants and street railways."

Through these two speeches, Deblat paid a lesson. Its contention is established to the satisfaction of every honest man; there can be no longer any doubt, their "tactics" ARE different from those of the Socialists. The Deblat movement is a new thing about it is that the Deblats—the dupes, not the dupers,—will tell you seriously that they are striking a blow at capitalism. It is a different blow which have been made by them lately.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF WESTFIELD.

In this, as in all other municipalities, society is divided, at the present time, into three distinct classes: the capitalist, frequently called the plutocratic, the middle, and the proletarian classes, whose immediate interests are as diverse as their characteristics.

The capitalist class is composed of those whose incomes are derived from securities, investments, etc., which draw interest or dividends of those who, contributing nothing of their own labor to the process of production, claim a share of the products of labor. This class is the parent of the syndicate and trust and is the father of monopoly. Through its development competition in certain industries has been abolished and production organized on a scientific basis. Combination is now the law which governs its development. It has intensified labor, has reduced its wages, has increased its hours of duration, and has introduced modern automatic machinery so that the greatest degree of productivity is secured with the fewest laborers. This class is continually growing in strength because of its ever increasing opportunities for exploiting the two classes beneath it.

The middle class is composed of small merchants, farmers, manufacturers, etc., who often work with the laborers whom they exploit, hence do generally contribute something of their own labor to the process of production. The middle class occupies a peculiar position in society. Exploiting the wage worker, it is itself the victim of exploitation, the exploitation of the capitalist class. It is because its share must be divided with the capitalist class that it is so much the more meretricious in its treatment of the proletariat. Strangely enough, while it is upholding capitalism and wage slavery, it is at war with the highest developments of capitalism, the various industrial combinations known as syndicates, trusts, pools, etc. This is really the class of competition and is truly representative of anarchy. Its position as a middle class is but fleeting; there is no element of permanency about it. It is slowly being absorbed; in a very small, an almost infinitesimal degree by the capitalist class, in a very great degree by the proletariat class. In a little while it will have ceased to exist, and its members will have become wage slaves of the terrible system of capitalism which they themselves have assisted to build up and maintain.

The proletariat, or propertyless class, is that great majority in society which sells its labor-power for wages or salary. It is the universally exploited wage slave class, and is the foundation on which all society rests, because it produces all the things necessary to the existence of society. It is deceived by the capitalist class, it is deceived by the middle class, it is deceived in every hour of its existence from birth to burial. The better to exploit it, it has been organized, to the end that its members shall work together in perfect harmony. In the various processes of production, so that co-operation is now the dominant law of the proletariat. Its position in society is permanent, its members cannot sink lower because there is no class beneath it, and the development of capitalism makes it equally impossible for them to rise higher. It is constantly increasing in numbers because it is continually receiving additions to its ranks from the proletariat and middle classes. The proletariat is the only socially necessary class, and as such it will remain till the abolition of all classes in production, till the abolition of capitalism.

In national, state and municipal affairs, it is the settled policy of capitalist political parties to keep the people divided over questions and interests which are of no importance to them, so that, being continually occupied with capitalist interests and their resulting quarrels, they shall give neither time nor thought to their own proletarian class interests. It is even so in Westfield, where the Democratic and Republican parties have kept the people divided over the questions of the different Street Railroad ROUTES to Springfield, when the real question before the people was whether there should be a street railroad connection with Springfield or not, and have thus succeeded in defeating the wishes of the people. Centralization and concentration are natural laws of capitalism and are the logical results of capitalist progress and development. The tendency toward street railroad connection between Westfield and Springfield is but an example of the capitalist law of centralization, and following this law of progress true Socialists will do all in their power to secure such connection.

The Socialist Labor party again comes before the people of Westfield in a municipal campaign as a revolutionary movement of the proletariat class for the abolition of capitalism and its resultant wage slavery and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. While capitalism cannot be overthrown by securing the government of a single municipality, the harsh conditions under which wage slavery exists in such a municipality can be greatly ameliorated and the government administered for and by the wage slaves themselves. As the Republican and Democratic parties are but willing tools of capitalism the Socialist Labor party can have nothing in common with them, and it presents its undying hostility to both as proof of its proletarian class-consciousness.

The following measures of the Socialist Labor party will receive the loyal support of its constituents:

Factories, tenement houses, business blocks and public buildings to be subject to rigid inspection, periodically, and such sanitary improvements as are necessary to the public health to be compelled from the owners of the premises.

Public repairs and improvements to be made in such a manner that the quarters of the wage working class shall receive their equal share.

Abolition of the contract system of doing public work.

Employment to be furnished by the town to those who are unable to obtain employment elsewhere.

The rate of wages for municipal em-

ployment to be \$2.00 per day, and eight hours to constitute the working day.

Educational facilities to be increased by extension of the free public kindergarten and by furnishing food and clothing to school children where necessary.

Municipal ownership of such utilities as the laws of the Commonwealth will allow.

All town meetings to be called at such times as will best suit the convenience of the majority class—the wage workers.

Citizens! When you go to the polls to vote, put to yourselves these questions:

"Do I derive my income from rent, interest or dividends?" If you do then you are a plutocrat, and the Republican and Democratic parties will best represent your interests.

"Do I derive my income from profits made by the employment of a few laborers for wages or from the sale of commodities at prices above their value?" If you do you are a member of the middle class, and can only be represented by the Republican and Democratic parties.

"Do I derive my livelihood from wages or salary given to me for my labor power?" If you do you are the wage slave of the capitalist and middle class exploiters, and if you would not prove a traitor to your class you must vote the Socialist Labor party ticket.

The following are the nominees of the Socialist Labor party:

For Selectmen and Overseers of the Poor:

JOHN INGOLDSON.

HENRY W. HAWKINS.

HENRY KUSTER.

For Assessors:

LEON S. OLIVER.

EDWARD HINCHEY.

CHARLES WARTENBURG.

For Water Commissioners:

OSCAR P. BEIN.

HENRY O. BRIGHAM.

For School Committee:

PATRICK J. McMAHON.

CLARENCE E. SPELMAN.

WESTFIELD, MASS., SECTION, S. L. P.

IN PUEBLO.

(Continued from page 1.)

branches are branches of the same tree?

Do you think that tree is capitalism?

Do you think that political capitalist tree is rotten throughout its trunk?

Do you think these branches are the mistletoe or blood sucking parasites, the sure precursors of desolation? If so, vote against them!

Do you think they want the offices for the fat salaries or to sell out to their masters, the corporations? Then vote against them!

Do you think the politicians, the clergy, the millionaire and the pauper, the fruit of the same tree? Cut it down with your vote.

Do you think the system that permits your employer to keep three-fourths of all your earnings right? Then vote to retain this system by voting either of the old parties, your masters.

Do you think they are the result of venality, bribery, debauchery, corruption, rottenness and murder? Vote against them.

Do you think the candidates of these old parties who ask for your votes with a cigar or a drink will do anything for your relief? Then vote for your masters.

Do you think these Councilmen who have drawn for their brother Joseph's coat in the levee work, will not sell you out again? Then vote for them.

Do you think these old parties have been tried and found wanting often enough? Then vote for the only party ever organized in the interest of the wage earner, and all the people, the Socialist Labor party.

Do you think the principles of the Socialist Labor party right? If so, then if you vote against it, you are a traitor to your country, your neighbor, your family and yourself.

THE TICKET.

For Mayor: NIXON ELLIOT.

For Alderman First Ward: JOHN COOPER.

For Alderman Second Ward: FRANCIS LEIVOUX.

For Alderman Third Ward: MRS. MARY SCHIMMER.

For Alderman Fourth Ward: J. B. COULTON.

For Alderman Fifth Ward: W. S. WILLIAMS.

For Alderman Sixth Ward: SIALS GARDINER.

For Alderman Seventh Ward: R. A. BECK.

For Alderman Eighth Ward: J. H. LYNN.

For City Auditor: JACOB FRANK.

For City Attorney: EMIL HENDRICK.

For City Clerk: J. A. KNIGHT.

For City Engineer: J. P. MAYER.

For City Treasurer: OSCAR DALLANCOURT.

TURNED DOWN.

(Continued from page 1.)

In all our grandeur of men, with the falchion of the Socialist Labor party halberd and mow them down next. Aye, for last week, the average vote for each of our candidates were 78, while Comrade Richmond ran ahead of the ticket with 120. This is an excellent maiden effort when it must be remembered that there are not five hundred voters in each precinct, and with sharp personal interests blossoming forth that lie latent in State elections.

This, then, is only the beginning of the song.

REVERE SECTION, S. L. P.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kahn, 34 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary, 183 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Executive Committee, George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can be in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Meeting of March 14, with W. H. Wherry in the chair. Absent Sauter. The financial report was read and accepted. March 11: receipts, \$105.50; expenditures, \$107.30.

Section New York, through its organizer, requested that the canvass for the vote for National Secretary and for members of the National Executive Committee be postponed in order to give the Section time to investigate the vote of Branch 11 (Liedertafel). Resolved, that the canvass be postponed until the next meeting, and that report must be made within that time.

Section Graniteville, Vt., was reported reorganized by some members who had been absent in search of work and had returned. Section Portsmouth, N. H., which had applied for charter at last session, reported that they had decided to reorganize under the old charter. The formation of an English branch was reported from Albany, N. Y.

Reports were read from Comrade T. A. Hickey as to his work in Indiana.

John Scherer, of Belford, Okla., was admitted a member at large. Section Minneapolis requested publication of a proposition for general vote relative to a change of party constitution, in order to get the support of other Sections. They must obtain such support by communicating with other Sections.

The Secretary presented a plan to send an agitator through the New England States and was instructed to proceed with the work.

L. MALKIEL, Sec. Secretary.

New York.

SECTION GREATER NEW YORK.—Report of Proceedings of the General Committee, March 11, 1899.

Meeting at 64 E. 4th street. Delegates Mores and Klein present. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read. The Committee on Credentials reports favorably on following delegates:

New York—2d A. D., John Nagel and Louis Pomeranz; 6th and 10th A. D., Philip Schmitt in place of R. Gieser; 12th A. D., Brownstein in place of H. Richter; 13th A. D., Paul Joseph in place of S. Feldman; 19th A. D., Oscar Abramovich and Otto Fricke; 26th A. D., Anton Veldner; 30th A. D., Br. 2, August Gilliam in place of H. Schmechel; 34th and 35th A. D., Gustav Schmechel in place of D. Rousseau, who resigned from the party; Branch 13, Miss Rose Asch.

Brooklyn—6th A. D., Aug. Gleeford; 13th and 14th A. D., Julius Gerber; 16th Ward Branch 2, Herman Behrens.—The report was concurred in.

New members admitted.

Correspondence: A telegram from Wm. L. Brower, National Secretary of the S. L. P. L. A., from Pittsburgh, Pa., where 4,000 men are on strike, states that 70 men have been arrested, and that the assistance of the whole movement is necessary.

A motion to make a collection among the delegates was carried, \$15.00 was collected. \$25 were appropriated from the funds of the Section, and it was decided to issue subscription lists and a call for funds in the party organs. A telegram was ordered sent to the strikers, assuring them of the support of Section New York to the full extent of its ability, and a motion was carried tendering the N. Y. C. support of the Section to the strikers by the way of speakers and finances. Hugo Vogt, Secretary of the N. Y. State Committee, announces that a hurried conference of the members of the State Committee has been decided to appropriate \$25 for the strikers. The City Executive Committee was given power to call a mass meeting on behalf of the strikers whenever it should deem it necessary.

L. Malkiel writes that he is negotiating with a gas company for a uniform rate and special inducements in furnishing Welsh lights to all party organizations in Manhattan and Bronx. Asks for necessary information. Referred to Organizer.

S. Epstein, member of 4th A. D., writes that one Kornbluth, a notorious enemy of the party, was invited to the 16th Ward Branch, to lecture on March 31, on the "Tactics of the S. L. P." Referred to the City Executive Committee which is to report.

A letter from the Socialist Publishing Association of Minneapolis, Minn., asking for help in establishing "The Tocsin" on a firm basis, was referred to the Executive Committee, which is to report.

Mr. Platon Brounoff writes that he has composed 21 labor songs. He asks if the Section can undertake publication. The party is to go to the DAILY PEOPLE Fund. Referred to Executive Committee for consideration.

Charges preferred by De Leon against Waldman, and by Samuel Jacobson against Brinkmann, were referred to Grievance Committee.

Report of City Executive Committee—Emil Siegel, Jr., paid \$10 on account of indebtedness to Section, and promises to pay \$10 more.

A new leaflet will soon be issued, 50,000 copies of the party platform will be printed, and 1,000 copies of "How to Become Naturalized."

B. F. Kelnard was engaged to deliver lectures with stereopticon in Districts having German organizations, with a view to increasing English-speaking organizations. Two meetings were so far held in the 7th and 9th A. D.'s. The lectures were well attended, though the immediate object was not attained. He will first cover the West Side, then the East Side.

The Committee recommends the reconsideration of the motion passed at last meeting to hold an excursion, which is foredoomed to failure in its opinion and instead recommends to arrange a picnic at Ulmer Park. The park is a union place in every respect, except the beer. Moved to reconsider recommendation. Objection was raised to the non-union beer. In the debate it was pointed out by various delegates that there are no suitable union beer places in the city. The Central Federal Union, in which the brewers' union is represented, meets in a non-union place, that the brewers' union persistently ignored the principle of solidarity, refusing to aid other unions in their conflicts with the employers, and that although in 1889 the party was practically turned into a boycott organization in the interest of the brewers' union, yet in the following year, and ever after, the union put itself in an attitude of undisguised hostility to the party. The motion was lost, however, by 26 votes against 22.

Moved to instruct the Entertainment Committee to engage Ridgewood Park. A motion to refer the entire matter back to the Entertainment Committee, was carried.

The Executive Committee recommends to hold a dance on May Day evening. The Entertainment Committee was instructed accordingly.

The Executive Committee reports that the Socialist Liedertafel (Branch 11) has cast 55 votes in the general vote for the National Executive Committee. In its last report it had only 43 members in good standing. As on the average only one-half the members of any organization take part in a general vote, a sub-committee, consisting of Comrades Cooper and Brown, was appointed to examine the books of the Liedertafel, but that organization was not willing to produce the books before March 15, the day after the vote is counted. The Executive Committee, therefore, recommended ordering the Liedertafel to produce its books on March 13, and in case of refusal to do so, to refuse the vote.

During the debate, a charge by one of the delegates, and denied by none, that the Liedertafel had appointed a committee to prepare a state, that the committee did not report at the next meeting, but the list of eight names it presented on black board was solidly voted for, with few exceptions. That in the 34th and 35th A. D.'s a tell was applied by a chair to hand out blank slips of paper, but the distributed instead a hectographed list with the same eight names. The recommendation of the Executive Committee was con-

curred in, and a motion to elect a special committee was laid on the table.

The Executive Committee recommends changing Section V, Article IV, of the by-laws so as to read, "a member shall belong to no more than one subdivision." The recommendation was concurred in.

A recommendation to count the votes of members compelled to be absent, when they are sent in by mail to their respective subdivisions, was concurred in.

The Organizer states that an English-speaking Branch was formed in the 30th A. D., N. Y.; that he can supply envelopes to subdivisions at 40 cents per 1,000; that uniform membership ledgers must be taken, cost 40 cents; and he calls on members to turn in subscription lists for the "Abendblatt" Defense Fund, and also tickets to "Volkskulturg" Festival.

The Organizer was instructed to publish the detailed vote for National Secretary and National Executive Committee in the party press.

The report of committee appointed to confer with the DAILY PEOPLE Conference was read. It recommends the endorsement of the conference on the following basis:

1. That the work of the DAILY PEOPLE Conference shall be the organizing of a movement favorable to the establishment of a daily organ of the S. L. P. by organizing DAILY PEOPLE Clubs, by collecting the names and addresses of sympathizers and other propaganda work; and also the collection of funds for the present General DAILY PEOPLE Fund.

2. That DAILY PEOPLE Clubs may be formed in any Assembly District, but the delegates of such clubs to the D. P. C. and their financial officers must be members of the S. L. P.

The recommendation was concurred in. The request of the Socialist Liedertafel for the loan of the flag of the Section for its Commemorative festival, was granted.

Adjournment followed.

H. SIMPSON, Secretary.

COMRADES, ATTENTION!—Owing to the large attendance, the evening classes at the Club House, 206 East 84th street, will be continued until further notice. Those who have attended the public evening schools should not miss this opportunity to continue their studies. The subjects are: Monday—Political economy. Tuesday—English for beginners. Wednesday—Drawing (free hand, mechanical, machine, etc.). Thursday—English for advanced. Friday—English for advanced. Dues for one or all the classes, 25 cents per month.

Come and join!

THE SCANDINAVIAN BRANCH, S. L. P. of South Brooklyn will hold a Commemorative Festival on Sunday, March 20, 2-3 p. m., at 185 Atlantic avenue, Brooklyn. Prominent speakers will be present.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

LABOR NEWS COMPANY,

147 East 23rd Street, N. Y. (Store open from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m.)

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N. G. Tchernichevsky: What is to be Done?, .50

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In view of the approaching Commemorative anniversary, we call attention to the following four books treating of the great proletarian rebellion:

Karl Marx: The Civil War in France: Manifesto on the Paris Commune, .10

E. Belfort Bax: History of the Paris Commune, .25

G. Benham: History of the Paris Commune, 25c; cloth, .75

Lissagarry: History of the Paris Commune, cloth, 1.00

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The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 147 E. 23d street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

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Previously acknowledged \$938.84

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Collected "behind the scenes" on stage of Grand Central Palace, Feb. 22, .85

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HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

A third 5,000 edition of the pamphlet "What Means this Strike?" is now out. Its large sale is a gratifying sign of the times, and it is an evidence of the class of literature that is most useful and, consequently, best called for.

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To the Sections of the S. L. P.

The first of the supplements to the Socialist Almanac, No. 1, "The People's Library" is now out and ready for shipment.

It is a handsome, 24-page pamphlet, the contents of which are:

I. Territorial Expansion, by L. Sanial.

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Number I is a subject now foremost in the minds of the people and will receive attention if Sections see to it that the book is brought prominently before the public; number II is of great interest to all who take an interest in the development of the Socialist movement in this country.

The retail price of this number is only 5 cents, which makes possible a very extensive sale.

Address orders to the N. Y. Labor News Company, 147 East 23rd street, New York, or to the National Secretary.

HENRY KUHN,